A Memo to the President—*The Editors*

THE *Nation*

August 11, 1951

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Oklahoma's Loyalty Oath

BY BRUCE JOHNSON AND JEAN LOMENICK

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Our Inmost Feelings

BY A TOKYO CORRESPONDENT

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The Promise of Paper Books - - *Harvey Swados*

Israel Goes to the Polls - - - - *J. L. Teller*

The Pall of Orthodoxy - - *Alfred McClung Lee*

Iran: Unrecognized Revolution - *Andrew Roth*

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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MEMO TO THE PRESIDENT

IN YOUR Detroit speech of July 28, Mr. President, you made effective use of an important news item. In attempting to obtain signatures to a petition stating that the signers believed in the Declaration of Independence, two reporters for the Madison *Capital-Times* had found that 111 of 112 persons refused to sign, many for the reason, as you stated, that "they were afraid that it was some kind of subversive document and that they would lose their jobs or be called Communists."

The facts stated, you spoke directly to the issues. "Think of it, in the capital of the state of Wisconsin, on the Fourth of July this year 1951, good Americans were afraid to sign their names to the language of the Declaration of Independence! Think of that, in the home state of two of America's greatest liberal and progressive Senators, Robert M. La Follette and Robert, Jr.! Now that's what comes of all these lies, smears, and fear campaigns." Later reporters for the New York *Post* were able to get precisely 19 out of 161 New Yorkers selected at random to sign a similar petition. "We met suspicion, distrust, and hostility," they reported, "relieved by occasional wisecracks."

We congratulate you, Mr. President, on speaking out vigorously against tactics which have produced this new fear and caution in American politics. But these tactics, as you know, did not come into being overnight. They have developed out of a series of measures and administrative devices some of which date back as far as World War I, while others are as recent as the order creating the Loyalty Review Board which you signed on March 21, 1947. It was under this order that the Attorney General began to list organizations as "subversive." Whatever may have been the original intention, it is now clear that the Attorney General's list has been used by Senator McCarthy and others in a manner that not only endangers the liberties of thousands of law-abiding American citizens but has seriously impaired the efficiency of the government service. Since you signed the loyalty order and the first list appeared, the Supreme Court has said in effect that the arbitrary listing of organizations, without notice or a hearing, is invalid. Yet the list has not been discarded, and it is in wider use today than ever before. You are now, therefore, in an excellent position to correct what has proved to have been a mistake and also to clarify the question of responsibility for the state of fear which you so dramatically emphasized in Detroit.

In the August 4 issue of *The Nation*, Francis Biddle, who served for a time as your Attorney General, called the listing of organizations as subversive "highly objectionable." "The practice," Mr. Biddle pointed out, "tends increasingly to fix and harden an equivocal standard. Membership in a doubtful organization in the federal program is but 'one piece of evidence'; two years later it becomes *prima facie* cause for disqualification in New York; and, finally, in the Ober law of Maryland, membership is a crime." Quoting with approval Justice Black's characterization of the listings as "officially prepared and proclaimed governmental blacklists [which] possess almost every quality of bills of attainder," Mr. Biddle concluded: "It is to be hoped that since this decision [the Supreme Court's decision in the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Case, April 30, 1951] the President will reconsider the use of this kind of evidence before loyalty boards; it is frankly based on the theory of guilt by association, which was once thought to have no place in American law."

We indorse Mr. Biddle's recommendation and would add one of our own. We urge you, Mr. President, to direct the Attorney General to set aside the list now in use and to refrain from preparing any further "bills of attainder." In Detroit you charged, quite properly, that the "doubters and defeatists" were "trying to stir up trouble and suspicion between the people and their government." "That's what comes," you said, "when people are told they can't trust their own government." But good American citizens, Mr. President, including many who have served their country loyally in two wars, have genuine cause to distrust a government that proceeds to issue "bills of attainder" against them, without notice or a hearing, the effect of which is to drive them from jobs, businesses, and professions, and to make political pariahs of them.

The issues in the 1952 campaign can be greatly clari-

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fied if you will take the steps here recommended. But if you continue to sanction, after your Detroit speech, measures which lend strength to the objectionable tactics of your opponents, the fear which you deplore—the fear so carefully cultivated by the McCarthys and the McCarrans—will persist.

It is not at all strange that the citizens of Madison, Wisconsin, exhibited the caution they did when asked to sign the petition; they acted, it seems to us, with understandable circumspection. Their caution can be directly traced to the fact that the listing of organizations as subversive has taught them to be morbidly suspicious of all petitions and organizations. The men who 175 years ago signed the original document circulated in Madison, Wisconsin, on July 4, 1951, had an abiding hatred of what James Madison called those "new-fangled and artificial treasons which have been the great engines by which violent factions, the natural offspring of free governments, have usually wreaked their alternate malignity on each other. . . ." To free American political life of the fear of similar "new-fangled and artificial treasons" today, we urge you to withdraw from them the sanction of your approval given under somewhat different circumstances four years ago.

The Shape of Things

AGAIN THE ARMISTICE TALKS AT KAESONG have surmounted a crisis, this time in the shape of a suspension due to the appearance of armed Communist troops in the neutralized conference area. Whether or not this violation of agreed conditions was accidental, as the Communists claim, the speed with which the Chinese and North Korean high command complied with General Ridgway's request for assurances that it would not happen again indicates their eagerness to keep the talks going. As we go to press, neither side has made any move to resolve the disagreement over the demarcation line, the issue that had deadlocked the negotiations when the incident occurred. But some observers see a possible basis for agreement in several Communist broadcasts which have placed the line demanded by the Allied negotiators considerably to the north of the present United Nations battle line. If these reports are true —and there seems to be some real doubt as to the line General Joy has actually proposed—then the U. N. representatives could make a better offer without sacrificing their strong defense position. On the other hand, if the Communist reports are fictitious, they may be designed to prepare the way for a concession which will look like a compromise. The one thing General Nam Il cannot accept, it would seem, is an arrangement that might freeze the boundaries between North and South Korea on a line above the Thirty-eighth Parallel. The truism that "possession is nine-tenths of the law" has proved

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well-nigh infallible in the history of armistice agreements. In spite of the supposed exclusion of political considerations from the truce talks, the Communists, should they finally agree to end the fighting north of the Parallel, may be expected to demand pretty firm assurances that the cease-fire line will not become a political line later on.

✶

THE SENATE SMALL BUSINESS COMMITTEE reports that 40 per cent of the dollar value of all defense contracts awarded since the start of the Korean war has gone to ten giant industrial corporations. Between July 1, 1950, and June 1 of this year, contracts totaling $23.8 billion have been let. The companies participating in this total are headed by the Ford Motor Company with $1 billion in contracts and General Motors with $3.5 billion. The chief beneficiaries are mostly manufacturers of tanks or planes—items which account for a large portion of current military spending. Only a few companies, of course, are able to produce tanks or planes, but there seems to have been little effort to spread contracts for parts among the smaller firms. Reflecting pre-war relationships, the concentration of defense contracts in a few companies has greatly increased the disparity in industrial power between large and small concerns. During World War II a hundred companies received two-thirds of the total dollar value of defense expenditures, but fifty companies now make up the two-thirds category. Concentration of defense contracts may not retard the mobilization effort, but the imbalance which already exists might well undermine the economy and, as the committee warns, "intrench monopoly beyond hope of dislodgment in our time." The committee has told the armed services that "this trend of concentration must be immediately reversed," but similar directives were issued throughout World War II with no perceptible effect. The trend is not likely to be reversed, for the structure of power has already changed.

✶

LAST WEEK THIS JOURNAL PRINTED SOME statements from Spanish monarchist leaders revealing their unconditional rejection of Generalissimo Franco's new "liberalized" government. These facts have now been sensationally verified by the Spanish Pretender himself. In a personal letter to the Spanish dictator, written on July 10 but published for the first time last Sunday in a dispatch by Sam Pope Brewer to the New York *Times*, Don Juan called upon Franco to restore the Spanish monarchy without delay and reestablish representative institutions. That the Generalissimo has no intention of acceding to Don Juan's demands, his actions since receiving the letter are sufficient proof. So far he has not even acknowledged it; and the comments of his own spokesmen leave no room for doubt about the character of the Cabinet appointed with such demo-royalist flourishes when the prospective deal with the United States was announced. By this time Washington's hope that our new ally-to-be would be well received at least in conservative European quarters must have collapsed. Indeed the opposition to Franco as a pillar of the Western coalition has been stiffening all over Europe. In Great Britain the influential moderate Sunday *Observer* has sharply challenged the advisability and wisdom of a bilateral pact between the United States and Franco Spain, calling it a "damaging blow to the morals and dignity" of the entire Western alliance. From the purely military point of view the British paper questions the value of bases in a country where opposition to the regime is mounting. In Norway important liberal journals like *Dagbladet* and *Verdens Gang* have also criticized the proposed agreement. They dispute the view that the matter is exclusively the business of the United States, maintaining that any loss of moral authority on the part of this country has a "most deplorable effect on the general mobilization of the forces of freedom." We suggest that President Truman weigh carefully the opinions of these Europeans of the center and right before he takes the final step of entering into an alliance with the Continent's last fascist ruler.

✶

IT WAS LIKE OPENING DAY IN THE MAJORS in Congress last week. The front-office boys of the big leagues trotted out the venerable Ty Cobb, now a Coca-Cola millionaire, to tug at the heartstrings of the nation. Baseball's greatest living figure testified that the sport was just "a clean game and not an industry"—in 1950 the two major leagues only counted 17,226,824 paid admissions! Cobb was invited to testify, with executives of the major and minor leagues, at a "friendly" investigation of the game's controversial reserve clause. Part of every contract, the clause makes the player economically immobile. Once the "property" of a team, the individual player cannot freely seek employment with another club, nor can he leave his own unless he is sold, traded, or fired. Of course he can quit. But if he exercises this dubious privilege, he will be without employment in organized baseball; and if he returns, he must go back to the same team. This adds up to a status not unlike peonage, and indeed the players are in the habit of referring to themselves as "peons." The salary and fame of major leaguers must not be confused with the abysmally low salaries, steerage-class hotels, and comparative obscurity of the far more numerous minor leaguers. Statements by living immortals notwithstanding, Congress should recognize major-league baseball as the major industry it is and outlaw the reserve clause as an improper restraint on trade.

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Defense with Inflation

IN his mid-year economic report the President requested "legislation which will strengthen, not weaken, price control." The compromise controls bill which he signed on July 31 relaxes consumer-credit restrictions, removes the power of OPS to fix slaughtering quotas, stops roll-backs in beef prices, and entitles virtually every producer of processed and manufactured goods to include in his costs all but "unreasonable and excessive" increases in expenses between the outbreak of the Korean war and July 26, 1951! This last provision, the President emphasized, "is like a bulldozer, crashing aimlessly through existing price formulas, leaving havoc in its wake."

Responsibility for the bill rests primarily with the large bipartisan majorities that obtained its enactment without serious opposition. Preoccupied with dramatic "investigations," Congress refused to heed the President's warnings and was not at all impressed by the fact that half of America's families failed to receive any increase in income in 1950. Instead of taking advantage of the abatement of inflationary pressures in the last few months to strengthen our defenses against inflation, Congress cited this "lull" as evidence that the worst was over. Yet witness after witness had testified before the Joint Committee on the Economic Report* that "if inflation is not stopped by mid-1951 it will be much more difficult to stop it later."

Although the United Labor Policy Committee denounced the bill as "a disgraceful surrender to those who stand to profit from inflation" and called for a veto, labor apparently shares Mr. Truman's assumption that next year the voters will punish Congress for this reckless action. But most of the interest groups with sufficient organized political power to protect their economic interests are satisfied with the bill. And while Republicans may have written the worst amendments, these amendments could have been defeated if the Democrats had stayed in line. Nor is Mr. Truman dealing, as in 1948, with a "do-nothing" Congress; this is a war-minded Congress, with billions to shower on favored groups, including groups which supported the President four years ago.

A remark by the Republican leader Representative Jesse P. Wolcott suggests that it may be later than the President thinks. Afraid of "those in the government who would use the emergency to change our form of government," Mr. Wolcott and his colleagues have "deleted almost all of the powers" from the bill which might have been used to accomplish this sinister purpose. Yet these same Congressmen gleefully accepted a doubling of defense expenditures in the last year and view with undiluted pleasure the prospect of an increase of $30,000,000,000 in the next twelve months. It is this prodigious redirection of the economy from welfare to warfare that needs to be watched. The question has never been whether prices should be controlled; they have at all times been controlled—by monopoly power, by rigidly enforced "mark-ups," by "fair trade" practices, by price-support programs, and by other devices. To Representative Wolcott "price control" means governmental interference with this highly efficient system of private controls; to him any pruning of publicly provided profits would constitute "a change in our form of government."

And on this score the President can hardly be said to differ with his opponents in any basic sense. He assured Congress that with proper controls we could "continue to enlarge our defense efforts, to expand our productive capacity, and to hold inflation in check." In explaining why he signed the bill—"the worst I ever had to sign"—he said that Congress would be asked to strengthen it later on. Both statements ignore the chain-reaction effects of inflation. Every price increase that becomes a cost increase—and most do—proliferates through the entire price structure. War-directed economies, moreover, generate special political dynamics. Thus the notion that Congress will or can repair the damage it has done, at this preparatory stage of inflation, overlooks the nature of the disease.

Policy has superseded economic "law" in many areas, but as long as we have a price system that is at all viable, prices are bound to reflect social choices in the over-all allocation of resources. We may confine the flood of rising prices within dikes; we may even, by upstream action, diminish the crest; but given the present scale of military expenditures, we may not have "defense without inflation" any more than we may expect heavy rainfall without swollen rivers.

The staff of the Joint Committee on the Economic Report warned Congress in February that existing inflationary pressures "could easily blow the lid off prices" unless controls were tightened. Sounding fortissimo warnings of a runaway inflation, the staff pointed to the danger of a "price level easily five times higher than present" and then added that "direct controls over wages, prices, and production could not possibly halt the rising tide of inflation unless such controls were backed early enough and vigorously enough with fiscal and monetary measures." Controls have now been weakened, not strengthened, and the hope that adequate fiscal and monetary measures will be adopted is dim indeed. The trouble with the various plans for "defense without inflation," in short, is that the plans have not appealed to Congress.

*"The Economic and Political Hazards of an Inflationary Defense Economy," issued February 23, 1951.

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Israel Goes to the Polls

BY J. L. TELLER

Jerusalem, August 1 (by cable)

ELECTION DAY in Israel was as quiet as the first day after the long buzz-bomb siege. The population, exhausted by the heat and the severe austerity program which forces the Israelis to tighten their belts like torniquets, had for weeks been subjected to the additional assault of strenuous electioneering. From dawn to late at night sound trucks had cruised the streets exhorting the electorate in the babel of tongues which Jewish immigrants from sixty-six countries have unloaded on this land. Youngsters under voting age had marched in torchlight parades, shouting slogans. Election posters in glaring colors defaced structures, old and new. In a desperate attempt to reach the ears, reason, and emotions of these people, from many lands and of many political colors, the various parties had signed their names to posters carrying calumnies more fitting for anonymous handbills. This below-the-belt political slugging was indulged in even by parties obviously scheduled to join any new coalition Ben-Gurion would lead.

Election Day was a legal holiday. Cab fares were tripled because the parties had recruited all available vehicles to transport voters to the polling stations. For the first time in Israel's contemporary history political workers were hired and were not volunteers.

I toured the exotic quarters of Jerusalem where the kaleidoscope of Jewry went to the polls—long queues of Eastern European Hassidim led by their formidable rabbis, fierce-looking, stern-eyed old men from Africa and Arabia leaning on tall staffs, Persian women bearing themselves proudly like queens, meek little Yemenite women dry like desert figs. One carried a rooster in her arms. Another led a goat into the polling station.

The right-of-center General Zionist Party hurled "Moshiach" at Ben-Gurion, alleging that he was passing himself off as a messiah among the Oriental immigrants inclined to mysticism. This was untrue. However, Mapai was not perturbed by the cabalistic musings about its chieftain.

The Mapai bureaucracy in the government was its greafest liability, Ben-Gurion its greatest asset. Hardly a man in Israel, whatever his party affiliation, speaks of Ben-Gurion with less than adulation. He is the symbol of the state. This is not without its dangers, of course, in a country where 35 per cent of the population comes from countries with strong patriarchal traditions. After addressing an election rally of Iraq Jews, Foreign Minister Moshe Sharett was embarrassed to find himself facing a queue moving up to kiss his hand.

Mapai—Ben-Gurion's modern Socialist or New Deal party—will have gained from one to two seats in the new Knesset over the forty-six it had in the first Knesset. It will be confronted by a right-wing economic opposition headed by the General Zionist Party, which has advanced as expected from seven seats in the first Knesset to nineteen or twenty in the new one. The General Zionists are the Senator Wherrys of Israel in economic matters and are supported largely by the small shopkeepers. They will be joined by the Herut, an extremist right-wing jingoist party which has dropped from fourteen seats in the first Knesset to seven or eight representatives in the new Knesset. They will be supported also by several splinter groups representing the conservatives of the disintegrated religious bloc and some Oriental voters. The General Zionists in Tel Aviv lost some ground compared with their showing in the municipal elections last November. This clearly indicates that they have already dissipated some of the public trust they had acquired.

However, Ben-Gurion is still unable to form a truly stable government. Mapai may enter a coalition with Hapoel Hamizrachi and Poale Agudas Israel, two religious labor parties which split with the religious bloc on economic issues, and the Progressive Party, which is a small party of Central European liberals supporting an enlightened capitalism in a country equally divided between electors obsessed by dialectics and political illiterates. This coalition would require the support of three minute Arab parties affiliated with Mapai. It may be possible to get their support on economic issues, but on church-state issues the Arabs, as traditionalists, are likely to join the religious labor groups in any Cabinet showdown. Besides, Arab politicians are not ideological-minded but patronage-minded, with no administrative experience. Their inclusion in a coalition seems far-fetched. It is more likely that Ben-Gurion will invite the conservative religious backing. Should he do so, a shocking expenditure of valuable newsprint will have been meaningless.

Mapam, the left-wing Socialist party, has been reduced from second to third place, largely because of its pro-Soviet foreign policy. The Communists, who had three seats in the first Knesset, may have four in this one. The Communist Party is reputed to be the sanctuary for frustrated Arab nationalists. On several occasions Arab mobs mauled Israeli Jewish cops after Communist election rallies. There was "American intervention" when Mizrachi (religious Zionist) delegates from America to the World Zionist Congress here published an appeal to the electorate to vote for the Mizrachi ticket. The ticket drew 1.5 per cent of the vote.

J. L. TELLER, journalist and foreign correspondent, has spent considerable time in Israel since the foundation of the Jewish state.

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Oklahoma's Loyalty Oath

BY BRUCE JOHNSON and JEAN LOMENICK

Stillwater, Oklahoma, July 30

SOME 20,000 Oklahoma citizens consented last May to register their loyalty to state and nation on the dotted line of a formal oath. Nearly 100 persons refused to sign the new oath required of all state employees and thereby lost their jobs.

House bill No. 8, introduced last January by William Shibley, a retired Creek County grocer, requires all state employees, from court stenographers to the governor, to swear they are not Communists and have not been within the past five years. After it had been passed by the legislature, Governor Johnston Murray sent the bill back for reconsideration of points raised by his Attorney General, who had formally ruled it unconstitutional. The House, feeling pride of authorship, refused to reconsider, and the Governor then signed the bill on April 9, over the protests of the Attorney General, faculty groups at the state's two big educational plants—Oklahoma University and Oklahoma A. and M.—various religious organizations, and a vocal segment of the public.

The fight thus opened still continues. In September the state Supreme Court will hear arguments from eight professors who signed the oath after removing clauses which they thought violated their religious beliefs and were unconstitutional to boot. Their petition raises six constitutional issues: that the legislature has invaded powers granted to state boards or regents; that the act impairs contracts; that the oath-signing requirements constitute the taking of life, liberty, and property without due process of law; that powers delegated to the state are passed on to the federal government; that the act violates the guaranty of religious freedom; and that it embraces several subjects, which is expressly forbidden by the Oklahoma constitution. The petition also charges that the act amounts to an attempt to force state employees to bear arms and is therefore an illegal attempt on the part of Oklahoma to raise and support armies!

Many persons who object to the bill fear that it will have sinister and far-reaching effects. One A. and M. college student, an American citizen born in Argentina, says: "I've lived in several countries just before they went under a totalitarian government. This oath looks to me like the first of a series of efforts to give the state unlimited power." Professors believe the oath will not only limit classroom teaching but lead to future government control of all teaching material. Said one instructor: "Teachers won't jeopardize their employment by teaching a subject if such action might be misunderstood as advocating that subject." The bill was called "silly, pointless, and hysterical" in a good many college circles both while the measure was being considered and after it became a law on April 9.

Opinion outside the colleges has been somewhat different. Persons not affected by the oath have wondered what the "rabble-rousing college teachers were making such a fuss about." An editorial in the Stillwater newspaper called the protesters "drones and intellectual bums." Colonel R. T. Stuart, one-time chairman of the A. and M. regents, said on the day before the oaths were due: "Anybody who doesn't sign that oath will be gotten rid of. They'll all be fired when their contracts are up." The American Legion's Americanism Committee strongly supported the bill, but the rank and file did not rise up to demand action. One Stillwater legionnaire publicly disaffiliated himself from the organization. Others did not realize that the Legion advocated the bill. State officials did not entirely approve of it, though they hesitated to oppose it.

WHEN the oath first appeared on the legislative docket, it met only scattered objections. Opposition first became serious with the addition of the following amendments:

> That I will take up arms in the defense of the United States in time of war or national emergency, if necessary;
>
> That within the five years immediately preceding the taking of this oath I have not been a member of the Communist Party, the Third Communist International, or of any agency, party, organization, association, or group whatever which has been officially determined by the United States Attorney General or other authorized public agency of the United States to be a Communist front or subversive organization, or of any party or organization, political or otherwise, that advocated the overthrow of the government of the United States or of the state of Oklahoma by force or violence or other unlawful means.

At first Oklahoma University was the center of the opposition. By April 1 three teachers—Dr. Paul R. David, associate professor of zoology and director of the Institute of Human Studies, Robert E. Gardner, art instructor, and Richard A. Bodge, professor of

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English and the first to voice a protest—had publicly expressed disapproval of the oath. The Aggies did not join in the agitation until the deadline was close. Subsequently, they have borne most of the burden of the legal action. It was pressure from Oklahoma University that moved Governor Murray on April 6 to ask the legislature to reconsider the bill. "I am wholeheartedly in accord with your motives," he said, "and it is my strong personal conviction that no person who is worthy of being called a loyal American citizen should find any reason for objecting to making a reaffirmation of his loyalty and allegiance to his country as often as he may be called upon to do so. Yet it does appear to me that some of the provisions of the bill may be unconstitutional." The House complied with his request by a vote of forty-nine to forty-five, but the Senate overwhelmingly rejected it, saying in effect, "Go ahead with the bill and let the Supreme Court rule on whether or not it is constitutional."

Joe Smalley, state senator from the district in which the university is located, tried to insert exemptions for foreign-exchange teachers, persons unknowingly members of front organizations, and conscientious objectors, but his amendments were defeated. On April 29 Coley Newman, twenty-seven-year-old accountant in the Department of Safety, resigned in protest over the "inept" wording of the oath. His was the first positive action against the measure. "I am not," he said, "nor have ever been a member of the Communist Party. . . . But I cannot and will not aid . . . any agency or body which would abridge the religious freedom of my friends who are Quakers. This bill makes Oklahoma a domestic enemy of the Constitution of the United States, and is seeking to abridge a right granted to every citizen of this country." Elwyn O. Hughes, a native of Canada holding first United States citizenship papers, was the first member of the Oklahoma University faculty to cease pondering. "I shall not sign any oath," he said, "which denies employment to loyal American citizens. I shall not change this stand even if the legislature permits further employment of aliens such as myself."

AFTER Governor Murray signed the bill on April 9, the 20,000 state employees were given thirty days to sign the oath. No Communists were caught in the net, but 100 persons left Oklahoma's government service, and most of them have since left the state. Several foreigners were ordered not to sign by their Washington embassies. It is impossible to estimate the number of teachers who will stay clear of Oklahoma on account of the oath, but at least one visiting professor has refused to keep a lecture engagement at A. and M.

The Attorney General ruled on May 7 that his office would assume that the new non-Communist oath "cannot constitutionally be applied" to persons with religious scruples. He also said that persons under contract could not be required to sign until their present contracts expired; this moved the deadline to June 30 for all college employees under contract. Further, he said, the law did not apply to persons not performing continuous public work or to persons joining organizations declared subversive after the effective date of the bill. Citizens of foreign countries, he ruled, had to sign but might add a postscript saying, "I am not an American citizen."

The next day seven members of the A. and M. faculty, led by Dr. Malcolm Correll, head of the Physical Science Department, and Dr. Ainsley Diamond, internationally recognized mathematician and head of the Mathematics Department, announced to the press that they had engaged legal counsel to fight the oath. They were joined by Nancy Zieber, research assistant; Lillian Schmoe, college secretary; Luella Neitz, assistant professor of music; Werner Baum, assistant professor of botany; S. H. Lee, associate professor of chemistry; and Dr. Robert Wieman, assistant professor of philosophy.

May 9 was the last day for teachers without contracts to sign. On May 10 Paul Updegraff, a Norman attorney, entered the proceedings with fists flying. First he obtained a temporary court order requiring the superintendent of the Norman state hospital to rehire Allen Smith, formerly in charge of hospital poultry, who had been fired for signing an oath of his own composition. Then, changing his tactics, Updegraff obtained a temporary court order requiring state officials to withhold the May salary of all teachers in Oklahoma agricultural colleges who had not signed the oath. Later he filed a similar action covering all persons who had not signed the oath. His opponent was of course the Attorney General, who was placed in the embarrassing position of delivering an unfavorable opinion on the state's new law one day and being called on to defend it the next.

On May 19 Judge Carlile granted a permanent injunction, commenting, "We've reached the point where we must separate the wheat from the chaff. I don't know what the Supreme Court of the state or the United States Supreme Court will do. I know what I'm going to do. I'm going to grant the permanent injunction." The case will now go to the state Supreme Court.

Loyalty investigations are hardly new to "Sooner" vigilantes. Three years ago Representative Cantrell sponsored a measure in the state legislature to rid Oklahoma's institutions of higher learning of parlor pinks and other varmints. Cantrell began his investigation with a series of questions of which the first was, "Where was you borned at?" To his disappointment, not one teacher replied, "Moscow." All those questioned had read the "Communist Manifesto" or did not care to admit ignorance of Marxist theories. The legislature was called into special session to end the investigation.

No one, of course, can prophesy what the final reck-

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oning will be on the oath, but it is fairly easy to tabulate the score to date. Gains: passage of a law giving a basis for legal action against Communists in the state service; elimination of fourteen people at A. and M., forty-eight at Oklahoma University—with a possible twenty-eight more there—and perhaps a dozen elsewhere who certainly are not the most conforming of citizens. Losses: Oklahoma has been deprived of the varied skills of these one hundred people, many of whom are prominent in their field; state prestige, especially in educational circles, has been diminished; foreign nationals who have been forced to sign allegiance to this country on a piece of paper and on the reverse side disavow their statement are bewildered or contemptuous.

The red oath has received a thorough public airing in Oklahoma, and the discussion is not tapering off. The final decision, to be expected in September, will set an important precedent.

Our Inmost Feelings

BY A TOKYO CORRESPONDENT

Tokyo, July 25

THE Japanese people felt relieved when a parley for a Korean cease-fire was announced, because their land was the base for the counter-attack on North Korea, and it had been a great grief to them to imagine how many lives were being lost on the battlefield every time they were waked early in the morning by the thundering planes. The announcement caused a sharp decline in stocks in Japan as well as in America, but the feelings of the Japanese were quite different from those of the Americans here. Most Japanese drew a long breath and cast their eyes over the sea horizon as if they had just come out of a boiler-room.

The decline in stocks was noted chiefly in textiles and in the heavy industries and chemicals. Since the Korean war broke out, the heavy and chemical industries have been producing munitions, though this was clearly prohibited by the Potsdam Declaration. When the cease-fire parley was announced, the demand for further munitions was expected to ebb like the tide. The companies manufacturing napalm bombs, aluminum, and explosives were all hard hit. Japanese industrialists have been transformed into sub-contractors of the national-defense, or war, economy of the United States, and the transition from war to peace is going to be hard for them, especially since Japan's production as a whole is still far below the pre-war level. The big capitalists of course will be able to adapt themselves to an economy of either war or peace.

In the industrial center of Osaka manufacturers desire earnestly the reopening of Sino-Japanese peaceful trade. It should be remembered that when the Sino-Japanese war broke out in 1937, some 70 per cent of the exports of the heavy and chemical industries went to the Asiatic mainland. Moreover, these industries depend on imports of coking coal and other raw materials from the mainland. Should Japan be cut off from all communication with Asian countries, especially with New China, its economy would fail to nourish its 84,000,000 people and would not become self-supporting, as American taxpayers expect. That is why Japanese business men, of notorious opportunism, dare to express their frank demand for the reopening of Sino-Japanese trade, in spite of the curt directive of the occupation officials.

The industrial depression since the cease-fire in Korea has stimulated this demand. But among medium and small business men, engineers, teachers, and trade-unionists it is perceived that the country has a greater interest in establishing the economy on a peaceful and solid basis than in shortsightedly chasing about for immediate orders under unstable conditions. Their true concern is to overcome the instability due to the country's present colonial status, in which the Japanese economy is being interwoven with the war economy of America.

The yearning for peace with political and economic independence is rooted so deeply in the hearts of the Japanese people that John Foster Dulles's draft of a peace treaty, which apparently aims at dragging Japan into war, if war comes, will not be found satisfactory. The people long for a real peace treaty, not for a war-preparing treaty. That is why they welcome the Korean truce parleys, which they think may lead to a new situation. From working on the military bases and in the manufacture and transportation of munitions the Japanese have come to believe that American policy toward Asia assumes the likelihood of war.

Granted that Japanese business men and industrialists are longing for the revival of trade, Americans, nevertheless, should not jump to the conclusion that most Japanese are supporting Mr. Dulles's draft treaty, published here on April 5. Such hasty judgment would spoil future relations between America and Japan by neglect-

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ing the true feelings of the Japanese people, which are only breathed voicelessly.

The London *Economist* of June 16 quoted Mr. Dulles as saying: "[The occupation] has reached the point of diminishing returns. If it is arbitrarily prolonged, it could paralyze the promising begining of representative government in Japan; it could turn the incipient goodwill and friendship of the Japanese people into sullen hostility; it could even create the illusion that Soviet Russia could be a liberator rather than the cruel gaoler it is in fact."

Has representative government achieved a "promising beginning" in Japan? General MacArthur stated in his address to the American Congress that the democratization of Japan had been accomplished. Prime Minister Yoshida heard this with some embarrassment. Suffice it to remember the decision of the meeting of the United Nations Economic and Social Council, held on March 3 at Santiago, Chile, which reproached Japanese labor policy with being undemocratic. The three basic labor laws—the Labor Union Law, the Labor Standard Law, and the Labor Relations Adjustment Law —are being emasculated by revisions. After the notorious Matsukawa incident ten workers were sentenced to death or life imprisonment. In every governmental agency of Japan the corruption of high officials is a matter of common knowledge. There can be no discrimination between this government and that of Chiang Kai-shek or Syngman Rhee. The scandal of the Marine Safety Board proves it. Such being the case, one wonders if the word "democratization" is a synonym for "corruption." Corruption, moreover, is evident not only in political circles but among trade-unionists.

THERE are undeniable signs that the friendly feelings of the Japanese people will turn into "sullen hostility" if the occupation armies stay on after the occupation "has reached the point of diminishing returns." The Dulles proposal to station American army units in Japan with no time limitation and to retain the military bases (rearmament is its correlative) is unpopular with most Japanese, who think that peace should mean the withdrawal of the occupation army, even if the decision not to withdraw it is presented in the name of collective security. It does not change the feelings of the Japanese to have the term "occupation army" replaced by "stationed troops." Naturally the Japanese think the occupation is going to continue after the conclusion of the peace treaty if there is to be no substantial reduction of the American forces here. For the occupation army to remain after peace comes back is a paradox.

The Americans say that if Allied troops are stationed in Japan after the peace is signed, it will be in accordance with arrangements made voluntarily by Japan for purposes of collective security (answer of America to Russia, May 20). And Secretary of State Acheson has stated that the question is left to the free choice of the Japanese. However, the Japanese do not think they have a free choice.

If a man does no more than advocate the withdrawal of the occupation forces, a government decree permits him to be punished for conduct injurious to the occupation army. He may even be tried in a military court. Since the beginning of the Korean war, mass-meetings for peace or a peace treaty have often been prohibited in the Tokyo area. A paper called *Voice of Peace* was forced to stop publication. The *Worker,* the organ of one of the left-wing labor unions, and *Woman's Peace Press* were also suppressed. As many as 2,000 people have been thrown into prison for agitating for peace, and many young students of Tokyo University have been arrested. No one in this country imagines that an arrangement to retain American army units in Japan will be made voluntarily or that the Yoshida Cabinet, in consenting, represents the free will of the nation.

In addition, the Japanese will be charged with the duty of cooperating actively in a future war. They will be in a worse situation than that in which the Philippines were placed by the United States in the alliance signed March 21, 1947. We may expect, for this reason, the sympathy of most of the nations in the Far East, including India.

In spite of the propaganda telling us that America will protect Japan against the red menace, the Japanese will not be deceived again. When General MacArthur in January "permitted" us to have the right of self-protection, the old authoress Yayoiko Nogami, who is an independent in politics, commented: "With bound arms and legs one cannot have any free action, much less can one protect oneself." The right of self-protection assumes the existence of freedom and independence.

General MacArthur may have contemplated training the Japanese National Police Reserve in army methods and sending them into battle, but the present Japanese people, however war-minded they may have been in the past, see no reason to give their lives to prevent the spread of communism if there is no sign of an invasion of their homeland. The Japanese have had a bitter experience of war.

Japanese young people, especially, feel they have been cheated and taken in. The country which urged Japan to adopt

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a new constitution renouncing war has changed its plan within a few years and now encourages the people to prepare for war. This will make the Japanese faithless to America in an ethical sense. Young men hesitate to become soldiers, knowing that they may be forced to invade China and Korea as mercenaries instead of protecting their own land.

Hundreds of thousands of copies of a book entitled "Listen to the Everlasting Roar of the Deep Sea," a collection of letters written by students who fell in the last war, have been sold in this country. The film based on it has made a great impression, especially on the rural population. According to a poll taken recently by Kyoto University and Hitotsubashi University 92.8 per cent of the youth of Japan will not enlist voluntarily in the armed services. Most of those who were asked what they would do if they were drafted said they would join the organized resistance movement or run away.

Similarly an inquiry among the automobile workers in Tokyo and Yokohama showed that 90 per cent wanted an over-all peace treaty and that 70 per cent were against rearmament. The others thought that an independent country must have armed forces, that living conditions would be raised by the existence of munitions industries, or that Russia or China would attack Japan. They were mostly office workers; laborers were generally opposed to rearmament.

These widely held views are not due to the influence of Russia or Communist China but to the people's inmost feelings. They express a will to independence deep-rooted in the hearts of the Japanese people—a will so resolute and firm, though so modest.

The Pall of Orthodoxy

BY ALFRED McCLUNG LEE

THE St. Louis *Star-Times* has now followed the New York *Sun* into the graveyard of the daily press. The list of newspapers interred since 1946 includes the Philadelphia *Record*, the Seattle *Star*, New York's *PM*, the Minneapolis *Times*, the Oakland *Post-Enquirer*, and the Chicago *Sun* (death by merger). Accelerating the trend toward daily-newspaper monopolies, the elimination of these papers has extended the pall of orthodoxy that now muffles so much public discussion in the United States.

Last year Elzey Roberts, publisher of the late *Star-Times*, in accepting the Missouri University award for distinguished service to journalism, pointed out that "the trend toward monopoly situations is growing at such a rate that if it is not stopped it may change the whole complexion of American journalism." The trend is a product of stabilized counting-house journalism, which is in turn a function of the increasingly integrated American social system. Facts are available which would have permitted Roberts to make much wider generalizations.

The demise of the St. Louis *Star-Times* reduces the number of ownerships of daily newspapers in our twenty-five largest cities to forty-five—seven less than there were six years ago. Upon the judgment of forty-five like-minded corporation presidents now depend the major policies of the daily newspapers purchased by 49.1 per cent of American newspaper subscribers. Though only 19.4 per cent of the population of the United States actually lives in these twenty-five cities, the forty-five corporation officers directly control 56.4 per cent of the morning and 40.4 per cent of the evening papers of the country. Indirectly, their papers set the tone taken on political and economic matters by the 1,678 other dailies in the 1,385 smaller cities. The forty-five dominate, among other instruments of integration, the powerful Associated Press and the American Newspaper Publishers' Association. In a half-century (1900-1950) the number of dailies in these twenty-five cities has dropped from 153 to 86. In thirty years (1920-50) it has dropped from 126 to 86, and in the same period the circulation of these dailies has climbed from 14,400,000 to 24,000,000. The population of the cities has risen meanwhile only from 20,700,000 to 29,300,000.

The trend toward monopoly is at least as dramatic in the dailies of the whole country. In 1920, 42.5 per cent of America's cities—549 out of 1,292—had competing dailies. By 1950 only 6.8 per cent—96 out of 1,410—had dailies under more than one ownership. And in many of these ninety-six cities competition was abridged by gentlemen's agreements and interlocking directorates not publicly avowed. In the same thirty years the number of cities with only one daily newspaper increased from 724 to 1,124, and the number of those with one or more dailies in a local monopoly from 743 to 1,314.

Publishers adduce the current inflationary spiral as the cause of mergers and eliminations. They also like to blame organized labor and the federal government. But the trend has persisted in the same direction for seventy

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years, during wars, depressions, and booms. Spiraling costs were assigned as the reason for the sale of the *Star-Times*; but the peak in the number of existing dailies was reached in 1910, and the peak in the number of dailies and ownerships per city came even earlier, around 1900. Actually the trend toward monopoly in the newspaper field is part of a general trend toward local monopolies in communications, led by press-radio-television combinations. Steps toward local and even national communications monopolies are constantly being taken through common understandings if not through chain ownerships, networks, syndicates, wire services, and trade associations.

AS THE trend toward monopoly accelerates, the pall of orthodoxy becomes denser. Voices that contradict the ritual of praise and blame in press, radio, and television become rarer and weaker. Radical views are expressed less frequently by politicians. The teacher of controversial ideas comes more frequently under fire. The liberal preacher is in less demand. The few liberal newspapers left emphasize by their comparative uniqueness the dull uniformity of the average. Editorials and cartoons in the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* and the Washington *Post* on the "deal" with Franco redeemed the honor of the American press but hardly offset the general weight of American editorial opinion.

The spreading orthodoxy prevents a critical examination of what "everyone knows." Yet often it is precisely what everyone knows, what is commonly taken for granted, that most needs to be critically examined. Of course the unorthodox idea should also be scrutinized, but it is not so likely to be hastily accepted. "Everyone knew" that Dewey was going to be elected in 1948, but Truman won. The most neglected aspect of that election was the all-pervasiveness of the orthodoxy that characterized public discussion of the election for so many months. The improbability that the pollsters could be wrong gave a final certification to the prejudices of reporters, editorial writers, and commentators which had minimized debate. And there have been numerous other cases in which freer and farther-ranging discussion might have discovered timely indications of impending developments. How many "respectable" spokesmen in established mass mediums raised in advance the possibility of such a stock-market crash as occurred on October 29, 1929?

Or consider some matters shrouded at present from adequate public discussion. What is happening to the country as a result of the current middle-class depression? Is it really so accidental that thought-control—miscalled "loyalty"—investigations chiefly oppress non-Communist liberals? How much freedom of speech is left in the United States? How would we handle the problems of peace if a settlement were negotiated?

The trend toward monopoly in communications is undeniable. What, then, is the public significance of this fact? Whether or not we can question such a caricature as McCarthyism is no longer the issue. Reputable ideas also need to be analyzed on their merits. Can we question Democratic-Republicanism—that is, can we question matters on which there is substantial if not verbal bipartisan agreement?

The chief public significance of the pall of orthodoxy is that we have less and less access to facts disturbing to vested authority. In the words of the late Professor E. A. Ross of the University of Wisconsin, the real butts of drives against liberty of utterance are the "puncturers of propaganda." As Ross put it, dominant spokesmen are not greatly concerned "when a man in an important position—a pulpit, a sanctum, or a university chair—leans toward socialism. What enrages them . . . is the man who goes about effectively puncturing their vast propaganda *for* more battleships or the open shop or lower wages . . . or *against* the excess-profits tax or the child-labor amendment or the shorter working day or labor unions or freedom of teaching for high-school teachers." Reformist proposals couched in generalities are regarded as comparatively harmless. What draws fire is the confrontation of powerfully sponsored ideas with contrary evidence. It is news that is feared, not views.

Paradoxically, the potential influence of the unorthodox medium and the unorthodox speaker grows as monopoly and orthodoxy spread. Sooner or later the voices of the deviants break through, and then the effect is arresting. But without constant access to the facts on the one hand and audiences on the other, the unorthodox are bottled up. Their message can grow sterile and unconvincing, and they can have difficulty in propagating their kind. The separation of the unorthodox from mass audiences is the greatest danger of all.

To some extent, the organs of trade unions, consumer groups, liberal churches, and other associations fill the need. But the *CIO News, Ammunition, Consumer Reports*, and the rest are under such pressure to fight for immediate organizational imperatives that their concern with basic social issues is muted. Such publications, moreover, cannot be local, and large interests derive from local needs and interests. What is needed is accurate news reports on perversions of public trust and manipulations of public and private power for anti-social ends. Somehow, to combat the stultifying orthodoxy of our day, we must find new ways to learn what is actually happening in the major local, national, and international power struggles. Perhaps one way would be to extend the influence of such journals as *The Nation*, the octogenarian of unorthodox American publications. But the fact upon which discussion must be based is that monopoly breeds orthodoxy.

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Iran: Unrecognized Revolution

BY ANDREW ROTH

London, July 31

IT IS a little hard to think of millionaire W. Averell Harriman as "a salesman of revolution." But in his just concluded talks with the British Cabinet, Mr. Truman's special envoy has had the task of selling it the Iranian revolution. Britain has long chided the United States for not recognizing and accepting the Chinese revolution as a fact, but it has declined to recognize the Asian revolution in Iran. Not only does the British government refuse to regard the current situation in Iran as revolutionary; it even seems reluctant to admit that Iran is in Asia.

The government's decision to treat the crisis as a treacherous violation of contract rather than a nationalist upsurge explains certain British actions which otherwise would not make sense. It explains why the emphasis has been on winning legal victories at The Hague rather than political victories in Tehran. It explains why the Foreign Office retains as ambassador in Tehran the heavy-handed Sir Francis Shepherd, who seems to specialize in rubbing Iranian revolutionists the wrong way. It explains why, instead of trying to "make a Nehru out of Mossadegh," the Foreign Office treats him as a fanatic, a contract violator, and an oil-grabber who must be taught a lesson, preferably by economic strangulation. It explains, in short, why the British tend to act in Iran with the insensitivity of the Dutch in Indonesia.

Nationalist leaders elsewhere are not attacked as "fanatics" by the British but are released from prison, as in India and the Gold Coast, and made into friends even if they are near-Communists, as in Burma and the Gold Coast, or former collaborationists, as in Burma. Thus Burma could nationalize the Irrawaddy Flotilla Company with impunity. Even now the British government is starting discussions with the Burmese over a loan that will partially nationalize certain oil interests. Where the British recognize a situation as revolutionary, experts like Lord Mountbatten are sent into action.

Britain's failure to recognize the strength of Iranian nationalism throws a revealing light on its relinquishment of power in India, Pakistan, Burma, and Ceylon in 1947-48. Many radical intellectuals in Asia thought Britain was being "diabolically clever." British leaders, including Prime Minister Attlee, said Britain transferred power out of simple "generosity." In actual fact Britain's actions in South Asia in 1947-48 were the result of four factors. First, officials on the spot realized in time that unless Britain came to terms with Asian nationalism, it would have to fight nationalist uprisings without adequate resources and under conditions which might give the Communists a chance to take over the leadership of these movements. Second, this view was readily accepted by the Labor government, which had just assumed office and had a long-standing tradition favoring freedom for the colonies and particularly for India. Third, the actual transference was intrusted to superbly skilled diplomats like Viscount Louis Mountbatten and Sir Hubert Rance. Fourth, there was no real difficulty in recognizing the group to which sovereignty could be transferred.

In the Iranian crisis none of these factors have been operative. British experts on Iran have never assessed the movement for nationalization of the oil industry as a typical nationalist movement of serious proportions. The Labor Party has no traditional sympathy with Iran to correct the bad judgment of men on the spot. Diplomatic negotiations have been in unsuitable hands. And it is particularly difficult to find in Iran a knowledgeable group to which the great oil installations might be transferred without too great risk; from the beginning, Britain has warned the Iranians that the tremendously intricate apparatus of an oil refinery could not be handled by amateurs. Above all, instead of considering Iran in terms of the total boiling Asian situation, the British have viewed it as part of the simmering Middle East.

In the famous pamphlet "One Way Only," published as a criticism of the Labor Party's official line by Aneurin Bevan and two of his colleagues, Iran is described as "the prime example" of the failure "to apply Socialist principles" in Asia. "There we never examined in time the social implications of drawing enormous wealth and inflated profits from a backward area," the Bevanites complain, and go on to call for an "imaginative" policy similar to that adopted toward India.

Such criticism, which is largely limited to the *Tribune* and *New Statesman* circle of Labor intellectuals, has had little effect on Foreign Secretary Herbert Morrison. When R. H. S. Crossman, M. P., pressed him recently to try to meet Iran's demands, he accused Crossman of being "anti-British." Morrison was without first-hand knowledge of Middle Eastern or Asian affairs when he succeeded Ernest Bevin as Foreign Minister. Even after the Iranian crisis began, Anthony Eden protested that he appeared more interested in the British Festival, which he had fathered, than in Iranian oil. For a time Morrison relied completely on senior Foreign Office officials for an analysis of events. This led him to

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refer to the Iranian Premier as a "reactionary" although Dr. Mossadegh had championed parliamentary institutions for forty-five years and represents the resurgent middle class rather than the landed aristocracy into which he was born.

CURIOUSLY enough, the Anglo-American friction over Iran has not arisen because the Americans want to replace the British as oil concessionaires but because they have tried to show Britain that it might better use the methods that proved successful in Asia. The American ambassador in Tehran, Henry F. Grady, was ambassador to India in 1947 and saw the advantages which accrued to Britain from its friendly withdrawal from the subcontinent. Dr. Grady soon realized that the Iranians' desire to raise their flag over the Abadan refineries was as irreversible as the Indians' determination to raise the national flag over New Delhi. And he decided that however inflexible Dr. Mossadegh might be, he was the authentic voice of Iranian nationalism and must be accepted as the only alternative to a Communist-led anti-Western movement.

Britain has regarded nationalization of the oil industry as an attack on a successful business investment which must be repelled by legal, diplomatic, and possibly military means. America has approached the problem as one of strategy; it fears that the nationalist movement, unless appeased, may tear Iran out of its strategic position in the "roof" of the anti-Communist containment arc in the Middle East.

The difference between American "revolutionary logic" and British "business logic" on Iran was evident when I revisited Tehran in the spring of 1950. At that time American diplomats, still smarting over the collapse of the Kuomintang in China, were full of foreboding about impending events in Iran. "It's five minutes to twelve!" intoned one dramatic member of the embassy staff. The harvests had been poor; exports were falling, factories shutting, bankruptcies multiplying; unemployment was serious. The American solution was to avert a crisis by effective economic aid, preferably by plowing increased oil royalties into the American-designed Seven-Year Plan.

British diplomats thought their American colleagues were suffering from a "China psychosis" and obviously did not accept the American assumption that the Iranian situation should be analyzed in terms of the Asian revolution. Iran had long lived in misery, they argued, and one should not attempt to change things too rapidly. If the Iranians needed money, let them accept the substantial increase in oil royalties which the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company offered in 1949. British confidence was based on a legally air-tight contract, a highly efficient and irreplaceable organization, and "arrangements" with many easily corrupted Iranian politicians. The company's attitude was typified by the remark attributed to its dour Scottish head, Sir William Fraser: "When they need money, they'll come crawling to us on their bellies."

This "hard-headed" view borders on fantasy when applied to a revolutionary situation. It ignores the blind resentment of the Iranians that their major industry should be run by foreigners, largely for the benefit of foreigners. It ignores the fact that both the right and the left are united against the oil company. Attacks on Anglo-Iranian have served to divert internal discontent from the corruption and medieval exploitation of the owning classes. For the pro-Soviet Tudeh Party, the attacks are a method of starting a revolutionary process by which, first, Western influence can be ousted and then the domestic ruling class can be overthrown.

Since this was the background of the nationalization law, the British were rather insensitive in their June negotiations in curtly refusing to accept it. The Iranians could hardly be expected to scrap a law which the Majlis had passed in compliance with popular desire—the first time such a thing had occurred in years. Oil-company officials claimed that the company could not operate without a profit. The Iranians offered to compensate for nationalization with 25 per cent of net profits, and there were other ways in which the company could have adjusted its operations to the nationalization law and still make profits. The Iranians agreed to pay the cost of extraction, and by agreement this cost could have included a hidden profit. Furthermore, not having tankers or a distributing organization, Iran could have been persuaded to sell the refined petrol to the company at a low price, and the company could then have made a profit on the distribution. Other adjustments could almost certainly have been arranged if the company had shown any flexibility. Actually the deal offered by Anglo-Iranian officials diverged little from Iranian demands in substance; the difference was mostly in attitude and spirit.

Reza Shah Pahlavi

This business man's approach on Britain's part explains why so much reliance has been placed on the 1933 contract and the decision of The Hague court. The British have a good legal case, but it is scarcely the kind which can be enforced in Asia today. Revolutions are not stopped by writs of mandamus.

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PAPER BOOKS: WHAT DO THEY PROMISE?

BY HARVEY SWADOS

FOR a long time Americans have been regarded as magazine readers, in contrast to book-reading Europeans. The result has been, as William Miller put it in "The Book Industry," that "publishing original trade books in America, especially adult books, has ordinarily been too shaky a business to stand by itself," and that most of the thousand-odd American bookstores have been perennially insolvent.

But last year the stupefying total of 214,000,000 paper-bound books was published in this country, as compared with 3,000,000 in 1939. Most of them were sold, and the probability is that a larger proportion of them was actually read than of hard-cover books, many of which are bought as unwanted gifts or as book-club prestige items for the coffee table. Whether this revolution in the reading habits of the American public means that we are being inundated by a flood of trash which will debase still farther the popular taste, or that we shall now have available cheap editions of an ever-increasing list of classics, is a question of basic importance to our social and cultural development.

It cannot be answered before we consider the history of the paper-book business, its relation to regular publishing, and the peculiar problems which mass distribution has posed for reprint publishers. Paper-covered books had great popularity in the United States once before, in the seventies and eighties, and for a while their contents were "the best material that could be picked up from British writers," as the editor of *Publishers' Weekly* has said; but he has also pointed out that eventually "another kind of reading . . . brought all paper books into disrepute," and he has been led to wonder whether we may not be heading for a similar débâcle. Such has never been the case in Europe, where British Penguins and the Continental Tauchnitz editions of English-language books have had a long and honorable history, presumably reflecting the more firmly established traditions of a middle-class reading public with ingrained standards of taste.

American publishers, accustomed to treading daintily in the rarefied zone that lies between the world of the intelligentsia and the world of the business man—except for occasional forays into the latter world, armed with best-sellers—were not prepared to believe that literate Americans would accept books in paper covers or that such books could be sold by the millions. When the paper-book business got under way in 1939, trade-book publishers found themselves on the outside looking in. Now, a dozen years later, only two of the six major reprint outfits can be said to have any connection with a trade publisher; the others, with the exception of the independently owned New American Library, whose Signet fiction and Mentor non-fiction titles have done extraordinarily well, are owned by or affiliated with magazine publishers.

The close relationship between magazines and paper books is the key to any understanding of the latter; if we were to examine paper books as an extension of the book business rather than as a highly profitable enterprise now closely affiliated with the magazine industry, we should only be misled.

Magazine publishers were the logical people to jump into a new operation requiring considerable capital, mass production, wide distribution, and a rapid *rate* of sale in a market where space is at a premium and competition compels the replacement of titles as rapidly as of periodicals. Besides, pulp magazines have been declining swiftly, fighting a losing battle on the one hand against the comic books and on the other against the demands for more satisfying and more smartly packaged reading matter from a better-educated public: it was only natural that periodical publishers should recognize the possibilities of paper books as a means of filling the gap and capturing pulp readers. In the beginning reprint publishers concentrated on doing the kind of thing that seemed to involve the least risk, using material of which there was apparently an inexhaustible supply. Ian Ballantine of Bantam Books has pointed out that five years ago more than half of all paper-bound books were mysteries. Even today Dell Books uses mysteries for about 60 per cent of its eight titles a month, for as Mrs. Helen Meyer of Dell told me, "we rarely have a flop mystery." The demand for mystery books, by consensus of the reprint publishers to whom I have spoken, is undiminishing, and it will continue to be met in a form that is handier and more respectable than that of the old pulps.

BUT what is genuinely noteworthy is that the sensational growth of the pocket-book business has pushed the frontiers beyond the westerns and the mysteries and has opened up the entire area of serious fiction and non-fiction to hundreds of thousands of Americans hitherto unaware even of its existence. Bantam Books, which uses the Gallup organization to pretest titles and plots, checking them against previously successful books, and which goes in for market research more heavily than any other paper-book publisher, estimates that ten million Americans now buy one or more paper books every month. In sharp contrast to hard-cover publishers, who for a century have had to cater primarily to female book buyers, Bantam's figures indicate that 48 per cent of paper books are sold to men and 52 per cent to women, and that young people under thirty-five buy the greatest number of paper books.

The insatiable demands of a complex distributive mechanism that is built like a pipe line through which paper books must continually flow in an increasing stream if expensive printing

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plants are to be kept in profitable operation have forced paper-reprint houses to scan the entire field of some 10,000 hard-cover titles every year in search of reprint material. These demands are also responsible for the way in which paper books are merchandised: since they are distributed and sold, not merely by booksellers, but by people who have invested fairly large sums in them and must realize a quick profit, and since they are generally bought, not by readers in search of specific volumes, but by what market-research people call "impulse buyers," the tendency is to utilize the only promotional weapon, the cover, to the fullest extent. Furthermore, the bitter competition for space on the small newsstand—the crux of the sales problem for every paper-book publisher—inevitably produces not only such gadgets as the paper-book rack (in which reprint publishers have invested sums ranging up to several million dollars, and which their squads of field men must police to insure against their being filled with rival imprints) but the sensational cover, designed as a poster display to compete with surrounding magazine covers and rival paper books.

Paper-book publishers are extremely defensive about their covers, far more so than about what lies behind them. Their sales departments are prodding them to meet the competition by souping up their covers, and one publisher has confessed that "we'll be doing things this fall in order to remain competitive that we've never done before." This publisher, whose firm has always used conservative covers, put to me a wistful question which has been asked, in varying phraseology, by all those associated with the development of mass media. Naming a serious American novel of some years ago which his house recently reprinted unsuccessfully, he said, "We may very possibly have deprived half a million people of the pleasure of discovering this book by not using a sexy cover. From the point of view of reaching the masses with good books as well as from a cold business standpoint, what would your attitude be?"

Yet it should be noted that one publisher is convinced that popular acceptance of paper books as a standard household article will inevitably slacken the pressures making for sexy covers. However, at another pole a reprint house not long ago brought out a serious novel by a deceased author, with a crude and vulgar cover. The troubled family of the author discovered that they had to suffer in silence this slur on the memory of a dead writer.

Pressures on reprint publishers to tone down their covers have been growing from those who fear the blacklisting powers of the Catholic church. Policemen and politicians up for reelection are finding that it pays to cooperate with local religious groups who are continually nagging them to remove "objectionable" books from the stands. Uneasy trade publishers are often of the opinion that sexy paperbook covers are giving bigots and censors a good excuse for attacking books which by no stretch of the imagination could be considered pornographic. In any case, local censorship of paper books—already tested in such scattered communities as Detroit, Fall River, and Dubuque—is a growing menace and one against which reprint publishers may one day have to enlist outside help. Before that point is reached, they, their illustrators, and the authors whose names have been associated with what one publisher calls "by-line pornography" might do well to recall the words of Karl Marx: "The writer who degrades the press to a mere means of material livelihood deserves as a punishment for this inner slavery that outer slavery called censorship, unless his very existence is already his punishment."

Caught in the middle of conflicting business and censorship pressures, reprint publishers have had to design their product with considerable care. Captions like "He Ran a Harlem Brothel of 15" (this is taken at random) may spur sales, but they may also cause as much trouble as the pictures they accompany. A new and small reprint house had to change a cover at the distributor's insistence because the caption, a quotation from *The Nation,* included the word "prostitution." The change cost $750, and the new caption was loaded with innuendo—but it satisfied the distributor.

The problem is aggravated by the fact that covers in themselves do not sell books, for publishers are agreed that while a sensational cover may get a new title off the ground, it will not keep it flying unless readers like the contents.

[*This article will be continued in next week's issue.*]

Handbook on a Subcontinent

INDIA, PAKISTAN, CEYLON. Edited by W. Norman Brown. Cornell University Press. $3.

IN THIS handbook nine scholars, each a specialist in his field, present the pertinent basic facts concerning India, Pakistan, and Ceylon. The scope of the work is indicated by the table of contents, which shows chapters dealing with natural resources and climate, economic development, religion and philosophy, languages, history (ancient and modern), culture, and the present political situation.

Since the separate chapters were originally written for the "Encyclopedia Americana," they are brief and intended for the casual reader. Brevity, however, proves no obstacle to clear and accurate description. In the chapter on lan-

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PROFILE OF RED CHINA

By Lynn and Amos Landman
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guages, for example, M. Emeneau, in the space of four and a half pages, succeeds in giving a clear outline of a linguistic situation which is considerably more complex than that of Europe. Incidentally he provides a very satisfactory explanation of the difference between Hindustani and Urdu—the official languages, respectively, of India and Pakistan.

Each chapter is followed by a bibliography which—at least in the cases where the present reviewer is competent to judge—is sound and up to date.

The editor, W. Norman Brown, who is director of the Department of South Asia Regional Studies at the University of Pennsylvania, states in the foreword that the separate chapters promote no ideology, letting the facts speak for themselves. There is no doubt of the intention of all the authors to comply rigidly with the principle of scholarly objectivity. I imagine few if any critics could find anything wrong in this respect with the material concerning Ancient India and Ceylon.

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We are on more difficult ground, however, when evaluating recent developments. Take, for instance, the chapter on Economic Development of India, written by Dr. Thorner. The picture of the economic conditions under which the great majority of the population of India lives is a gloomy one indeed. The author points out that since 1900 India has become more and more an agricultural country, as the result, on the one hand, of a slow rate of industrialization and, on the other, of the great increase in population. What, then, are the prospects for a drastic speedup of industrialization? According to Dr. Thorner they are very bad. The so-called Bombay plan, drawn up in 1944 by leading representatives of India's big business, proposed a great expansion of industry involving considerable government planning and regulation. During the post-war years this plan has been largely abandoned, and only isolated projects—such as river control—are being carried on by the government. It seems to be the author's view that Indian big business, with its strong influence on the present government, is responsible for this situation. This view will probably be challenged in Indian business and government circles, but possible differences in interpretation do not affect the accuracy of the basic facts presented.

Some readers may feel that too much space is allotted to Ancient India: of the 199 pages dealing with India proper (omitting Ceylon), 82 are devoted to the years before 1000 A. D. To the present reviewer this does not seem an imbalance. One of India's most characteristic traits throughout its history has been the extraordinary tenacity with which it has clung to the beliefs and traditions of the past. So, without a sound background in history, religion, philosophy, and traditional social institutions, it is exceedingly difficult to understand present-day conditions.

One would, of course, like to see more information given on certain subjects. Education and the status of medicine, for instance, might have been more adequately treated. But on the whole Professor Brown and his colleagues are to be congratulated upon an excellent job. One can only wish that similar handbooks were available for other parts of Asia. G. V. BOBRINSKOY

Revolution in Russia

A HISTORY OF SOVIET RUSSIA. Volume I: The Bolshevik Revolution, 1917-1923. By Edward Hallett Carr. The Macmillan Company. $5.

EDWARD HALLETT CARR'S ambition has been not only to write a social-economic history of the Bolshevik Revolution but also to fill in the historical background, with special emphasis on the development of Russian political and philosophic thinking.

In his opinion the October Revolution had its deep roots in Russia's remote past. Analyzing the decades immediately preceding the revolution, he attributes the rapid spread of Marxism among Russian intellectuals to the expansion of Russian industry and the absence of any bourgeois tradition or bourgeois political philosophy.

Marx had praised the growth of capitalism in feudal conditions as a progressive force. Marxism was acceptable to the nascent Russian middle class as an ideological reinforcement in the struggle against feudalism and autocracy, just as Marxism was later to have its appeal to the rising capitalist class in "backward" Asiatic countries as an ally in the struggle against foreign imperialism.

Expounding this theory further, Carr maintains that the Russian social and political order did not provide the soil in which a bourgeois democratic regime could flourish. History rarely repeats itself. The Russian bourgeoisie was too weak and undeveloped to achieve its own revolutionary ambitions. A more significant cause of its hesitancy was its deepening awareness of the growing menace of a proletarian revolution. Carr quotes an interesting statement made in 1884 by a highly placed reactionary official, D. Tolstoy, Minister of the Interior under Alexander III. "Any attempt to introduce into Russia Western European parliamentary forms of government is doomed to failure. If the Tsarist regime . . . is overthrown, its place will be taken by communism, the pure undisguised communism of Mr. Karl Marx, who recently died in London and whose theories I have studied with attention and interest." Once bourgeois democracy was recognized as a stepping stone to socialism, it could be brought into being only by those who believed also in socialism; only the

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proletariat could take the lead in carrying out the bourgeois revolution. As Carr put it, "The trouble was not that conditions in Russia were not yet ripe for the Western revolutionary drama: it was that that drama had been played out in the West and could no longer be reenacted elsewhere."

The leaders of the Russian Revolution were committed to a policy of direct transition from the most backward to the most advanced forms of political and economic organization. Politically, this involved an attempt to bridge the gap between autocracy and socialist democracy without the long experience and training in citizenship which bourgeois democracy, with all its faults, had afforded the West. Economically, it meant the creation of a socialist economy in a land which had never possessed the equipment or the trained workers of a highly developed capitalist country. The victorious October Revolution had to overcome these grave handicaps. Its history, according to Mr. Carr, is a record of its successes and failures in this enterprise.

Many books, Carr claims, are marred by the unconscious assumption that policies and institutions of one country can be understood in the light of analogies with other countries. He correctly insists that no sensible person will be tempted to measure the Russia of Lenin, Trotsky, and Stalin with a yardstick borrowed from the West.

Whether Russia really achieved its socialist goal and what kind of state emerged as a result of the Bolshevik Revolution will form the subject matter of Carr's forthcoming volumes.

ARON DUBITSKY

Twentieth-Century Painting

HISTORY OF MODERN PAINTING: FROM PICASSO TO SURREALISM. Texts and Documentation by Maurice Raynal, Jacques Lassigne, Werner Schmalenbach, Arnold Rüdlinger, Hans Bolliger. Translated by Douglas Cooper. Albert Skira, Geneva. $15.

THE third and last of the Skira volumes on modern painting is larger but not better than the preceding ones. Like them, it provides a splendid collection of color plates of works in European collections, notably in Switzerland, Paris, London, and Milan. It has elaborate chronological lists, biographies, and bibliographies. But its scope is too extensive in time (1907-1950), in art movements, in nationalities, and in the number of artists considered. As a result, the effect of the book is very confusing. For coherence it depends heavily on tables of contents, recapitulations, and summaries of summaries. It can hardly be read before it has been read already; and while this is permissible for "Finnegans Wake," it will not do for a history of art.

Two main themes emerge: cubism and post-fauve expressionism, the latter veering off toward surrealism. Each theme really deserves a volume like the earlier ones on impressionism and expressionism. Had this been done, there need not have been so many half-page or single-paragraph accounts of important painters, with only one illustration, or even none at all.

It may be argued that these two themes are really concurrent and that to separate them would be wholly arbitrary. In Picasso, for example, cubism and expressionism are the very poles between which he oscillates. Picasso's work of 1907-08 is at once violently expressionist and proto-cubist, and cubism emerges from it only a year later. This book, however, signally fails to relate these two trends in any fundamental way.

In a volume written by five writers whose essays appear to have been chopped up by the editor and reassembled to fit a scheme of his own, it is not surprising to find contradictions. In the introduction (page 12) Raynal explains that Cézanne and Seurat are placed "in the forefront of this third volume, in which are described the drastic changes that came over art during the twentieth century, after fauvism and expressionism had run their course." But in a discussion of Kandinsky's work of 1912, it is said that this artist "struck out toward what we may call expressionist fauvism" (page 93). I think this latter passage is also by Raynal, but I cannot be sure either from the table of contents or from the typography, which suddenly shifts hereabouts into italics.

There are some excellent confrontations of color plates of Braque and Picasso at similar periods of their careers. Another interesting comparison is provided by two works by Braque: a *papier collé* and an oil painting which contains oil imitations of true *papiers collés*. But the contrast does not come off in the reproductions, because the effect of *papiers collés* depends precisely on the discrepancy between "real" strips of grained paper and the handwork of the painter. One must have this illusion of reality before one can discover that it only exists to be defied—and that art thus triumphs over illusion.

Unannounced in the table of contents and hidden under a folded page in the essay on the Dada movement is a short section—again in those anonymous italics—called Cubism at Its Height. There are two illustrations, a Picasso and a Gris, both of 1916. It could be argued that cubism did not wait for 1916 to reach its height, and that even if it did, the results ought to be worth a less diffident treatment.

There is an attempt to include something about art in the United States. For the years before World War I we are allotted one page on Stieglitz's exhibitions and on the Armory Show of 1913. There are many names, no critical estimates, and no reproductions. Later in the book there is a paragraph on the

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opening of the Museum of Modern Art, which includes some more names. Thereupon, John Marin is singled out for the only reproduction of an American work in the entire volume. The accompanying discussion ends with a brief and worthless paragraph on Charles Demuth.

I have no objection to the omission of American painting altogether in a work on European painting written by Europeans. But such casual, spasmodic, and misinformed treatment should not go unchallenged.

There is a general tendency in the book merely to describe what each art movement considered it was trying to do, and to evade the bolder issue of coming to some estimate of its value. This is particularly true in the sections on Dada and surrealism. Of Salvador Dali I was delighted to read, though, that he used "a highly sophisticated but also highly retrograde technique, full of academicism and more or less well-known influences, both pictorial and extra-pictorial. . . . Soon he became representative of a sort of applied surrealism which was far removed from the original intentions of the movement." Except for the subject matter, Dali's "A Giraffe Aflame" (page 183) looks surprisingly like a Maxfield Parrish.

Werner Schmalenbach's few pages are exceptionally good; I could wish that his assignment had been a larger one.

S. LANE FAISON, JR.

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Films

MANNY FARBER

USING the *Time* cover-story technique of puffing and prettifying an unlikable individual, "Bright Victory" shows a gabby, over-eager, self-satisfied young Floridian winning his soul—and a pretty woikin' girl, a better job, a home in the North—by losing his eyesight in the North African campaign, then his passion for the security represented by a semi-pretty lifelong sweetheart, and finally—ten seconds before the movie ends—his addiction to the epithet "nigger." (Negro here, as in "Home of the Brave," "Steel Helmet," and who knows how many films to come, means willowy, highstrung James Edwards.) Racing out one lunch hour to string some wire in the busiest patch of terrain east of Bizerte, the eager-beaver infantryman (Arthur Kennedy) gets clipped alongside his right eyeball by a sniper's bullet. From there on Kennedy contributes a solid, feverish, consistent characterization full of incredibly shrewd perceptions about both Southerners and the sightless.

Aside from his performance, this mixture of "The Best Years of Our Lives" and "The Men" is so unimaginatively perfect and so well-barbered by its cutters that it is a little like being caught on a fast assembly line. And wherever it takes a chance on real pathos or ugliness, it goes far enough overboard to be deeply offensive: by suggesting, for instance, that those with eyes are so stupid as to hand a blinded vet six lit matches as soon as he pulls out a cigarette.

Good citizenship and good box-office sense are for the umpteenth time cheesily mortised together in "The Well," as are the two hottest themes in cinema land today—the Negro problem and the problem of trying to get somebody (and the movie itself) up out of a hole or down from a ledge. This one begins with a stinking-cute Negro tot, her bright, happy eyes glued firmly on the director, zigzagging across a very handsome meadow as if on trolley wires and suddenly plunking down an unseen well—thus probably disappearing from films until the early 1980's, when she will emerge in "Under the Knife," the hard-hitting pro-Puerto Rican epic, as the enlightened nurse who finally persuades the chief surgeon of Harlem Hospital (James Edwards) to seat the young Puerto Rican interne (José Ferrer, Jr.) at the same table with his duskier colleagues.

The first three-fifths of "The Well" is a discordant symphony of overstated angry banalities: a race riot padded with extra-awful extras who accidentally snatch up clubs all cut to one size by the factory that makes Louisville Sluggers; a thundering Tiomkin piano cascading bass notes into critical moments in case you should miss them; a progressive waitress peppering the salad of a bigot; some elegant but unidentified Negro students sitting around in the high-school library self-consciously chirping civics-course stuff on the ramifications of race prejudice. The last two reels, however—drilling for the imprisoned little bit player—are an exciting education in the use of a rotary drill and a night-time camera. Here, in a shimmering, oscillating phantasmagoria of lights, faces, and machinery, all the white-supremacists—who have, to a man, abandoned the error of their ways—turn up in key technological roles to dredge the missing waif up out of the ground.

"Take Care of My Little Girl," clobbering the sorority system with a ton of bobby pins, abuses old Tri U so surrealistically that any freshman with verve would join U^3 at the drop of an arch. The inmates, watch-pocket replicas of Phil Spitalny's second cellist, dash for the porch to sing a different song every six minutes, drink Kleenex-wrapped cokes all day long, never see a classroom, are always in secret session hashing out the proposed blackball of poor Lynn Heppenstahl. After a semester of this, sister Jeanne Crain hands in a variety of pledge pins and walks off toward the dormitories on the arm of an earnest, leather-jacketed veteran who has wised her up as follows: "I don't think you're a heel—but I don't think you're Eleanor Roosevelt."

Another film with a slightly more credible collegiate setting is now sliding imperceptibly through the neighborhood circuits. Not credible, but *more* credible. This is "Night into Morning," a very old-fashioned Louis

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B. Mayer-type movie, without kikes, Negroes, fascists, proletarians, or psychopaths. It is even gently anti-psychiatric, while often poking rather realistically into unimportant corners of California University's Wheeler Hall and the miseries of a suddenly widowed professor of English (Ray Milland, somewhat miscast). It's just well-handled soap opera, but compared to "Victory," "Well," "Girl," and dozens of even more pretentious recent films like "The River," "Ace in the Hole," "A Walk in the Sun," it goes down like Flaubert or Fielding.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

AMONG recent recordings of choral music is one of Haydn's St. Cecelia Mass (Haydn Society), which contains superb music in both the slow and the fast sections. The frenzied analytic notes describe relations and similarities to Haydn's instrumental music of the same early period (1768-73); but to me as I listened the extraordinary thing was how highly developed and matured the writing in this mass was, and in this respect how unlike the symphonies of the period that we have been getting on records. Of the soloists the soprano, Rosl Schwaiger, is poor, the others—Sieglinde Wagner, Herbert Handt, and Walter Berry—good; and the other performers are the Vienna Akademie Chorus, the Vienna Symphony, and Hans Gillesberger, whose pacing of the work seems good, but whose conducting produces a playing of the notes without the inflection that would create outline and life in the phrases.

Concerning Bach's Cantata No. 152 (Westminster) I would say the fact that the London Baroque Ensemble conducted by Karl Haas uses the original recorders instead of flutes is less important than the fact that the work is mostly dull. The descriptive notes talk about the music's expressive relation to the words; but the words are not given. And concerning Bach's Brandenburg Concerto No. 4, on the same record, I would say the use of the original recorders instead of flutes is less important than the fact that the performance is a graceless playing of the notes without the phraseological inflection I just spoke of.

That inflection is heard in Hugues Cuenod's superb singing of four of Heinrich Schütz's Geistliche Konzerte and four of his Symphoniae Sacrae (Westminster). After Schütz's beautiful Weihnachtshistorie I was disappointed by the sacred concertos' recitatives in which only an occasional phrase was moving. The symphonies were more interesting, with more such phrases in the recitatives, and with engaging short instrumental and vocal set pieces. Daniel Pinkham conducts a group from the Vienna Symphony. Again the notes talk about the music's relation to the words, and again the words are not given.

I care less for Palestrina's Missa "Iste Confessor" and Missa sine nomine (Allegro) than for his Magnificat in the fourth mode, hymns, and motets which are sung by women of the Period Choral Society conducted by Robert Strassburg (Period). Even with treble reduced the voices are shrill and get to be wearisome; also, the music is sung in very slow tempos, and though these are mostly acceptable the Magnificat comes off better as sung in faster tempo by the Harvard University Choir under the direction of William F. Russell on a record of pre-baroque sacred music (Festival). There is some fussy swelling of tone in this performance, and even more in a twelfth-century plainsong sequence; but the singing in some beautiful pieces by Palestrina, Byrd, Lassus, and Josquin is excellent. The Dufay Magnificat in the eighth mode sung by the Radcliffe Choral Society I don't care for.

Nor do I care for Monteverdi's Salve Regina and Magnificat Secondo, sung by a small solo group (Allegro). On the same record are Verdi's Pater Noster and two of the Four Sacred Pieces—the Ave Maria and Laudi alla Virgine, sung by the Philadelphia Choral Ensemble under the direction of James Fleetwood. The first and last have beautiful passages; the second is a strange piece employing Verdi's *scala enigmatica*. The performances seem lifeless to me.

Hans Hotter's recording of Schubert's song-cycle "Die Winterreise" (Decca) is disappointing. The voice (bass-baritone) is very beautiful, but the performance is slow-moving, lingers over and makes too much of details, and occasionally breaks the musical phrase in deference to a comma or colon or meaning in the text. And Michael Raucheisen's playing of the highly significant piano part is subdued to the point of complete lifelessness and meaninglessness.

Debussy's Trois Chansons de Bilitis, which I don't care for, are sung well by Jennie Tourel (Columbia). And Dvorak's duets "Mährische Klänge," well sung by Marta Fuchs, soprano, and Margarete Klose, contralto, I find uninteresting (Urania).

Columbia's LP record reproduces Lehmann's wonderful performance of Schumann's great "Dichterliebe" cycle without the defects of the 78 records; but it cannot improve Bruno Walter's playing of the piano part. The same for the LP version of Schumann's "Frauenliebe und Leben," which only Lehmann's singing makes worth listening to.

The dull Spivakovsky-Firkusny performance of Beethoven's Sonata Opus 96 and the characteristically mannered Heifetz performance (with Kapell) of Brahms's Sonata Opus 108 are things to skip.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Goddard's Book: Mighty . . .

Dear Sirs: I should very much like to know who wrote the review of "The Meaning of Shakespeare," by my father, the late Harold C. Goddard, in your issue of July 14. I cannot imagine the cause of such a vicious attack, based as it is on a complete falsehood. This is *not* a "memorial volume," paid for by friends and former students, as the writer implies. My father signed the contract with the University of Chicago Press himself, although it is true that he did not live to see his work in print.

The reviewer does not mention the fact that the Press thought highly enough of the book to give it first place on their spring list. Nor does he tell his readers that "other wearers of the cloth" who have lauded this volume include such deluded brethren as Mark Van Doren, Lionel Trilling, Clifton Fadiman, Margaret Webster, John Haynes Holmes, Dorothy Canfield Fisher, John Barkham, and Fulton Oursler; in fact, critics all over the country have hailed the book as "magnificent," "profound," "noble," "mighty," "illuminating," "brilliant."

ELEANOR GODDARD WORTHEN
Hudson, Ohio

. . . or Mediocre?

Dear Sirs: I feel no sense of guilt or impulse to conceal my identity as a result of my failure to admire Professor Goddard's book. My remarks appeared in one of the brief notices which are printed anonymously. A careful reading of the work convinced me that it was a well-meaning but inferior product that was being promoted through the use of testimonials.

The pre-publication comments sent me by Mrs. Worthen reveal that critics who had read only a sampling of the manuscript were quoted on the dust jacket and in leaflets as if their judgments were based upon an examination of the entire work. One of the critics thus quoted had read only one chapter of the thirty-six. To what extent post-publication comments were based on a comprehensive reading of the book must remain conjectural. No doubt some critics liked it. I did not. No doubt Mrs. Worthen believes that it deserves the adjectives she has assembled. Such superlatives are becoming the small change of the book mart, and the world of letters is imitating the huckstering terms which it pretends to scorn. If Mrs. Worthen is really convinced that "The Meaning of Shakespeare" is being greeted by a national chorus of praise, she should be unperturbed by my one brief paragraph of dissenting opinion.

New York ALFRED HARBAGE

Misleading Book Jackets

Dear Sirs: For some time the Parent-Teachers Association, the Catholic Mothers' Study Clubs, and the Council of Protestant Churches have been on a "clean book" campaign in Dubuque, Iowa. In an effort to remove from the newsstand certain titles they considered unfit for the youth of the community they got the local police, in September, 1950, to seize a number of twenty-five-cent reprints of works by Steinbeck, MacKinlay Kantor, and Somerset Maugham from the Norton News Agency and indicted the owner for selling obscene books.

District Attorney John Duffy, deciding to try to clarify the meaning of "obscenity" and its bearing on the case, subpoenaed the Dubuque public librarian, May Clark, to appear before a grand jury with copies of Rabelais, the "Decameron," "Tom Jones," and "Stretch on the River," by Richard Bissell, a Dubuque author. Since all copies of the last book were being read by library patrons, Miss Clark was forced to give their names in order that they might testify. To lend final authority, two professors from the University of Iowa, W. R. Irwin and Paul Engle, were called. Mr. Engle considered none of the books which he saw obscene and thought they presented a much greater threat to a child's prose style than to his morals. He felt that the books' jackets rather than their contents had set off the controversy.

The jury did not indict, and although the case represents a victory against censorship it leaves unanswered the question of whether or not library readers can be subpoenaed and made to testify on what they are reading, and whether or not the pictures on the jackets of many books are not misleading and open the publisher to charges of misrepresentation.

Urbana, Ill. ELEANOR BLUM

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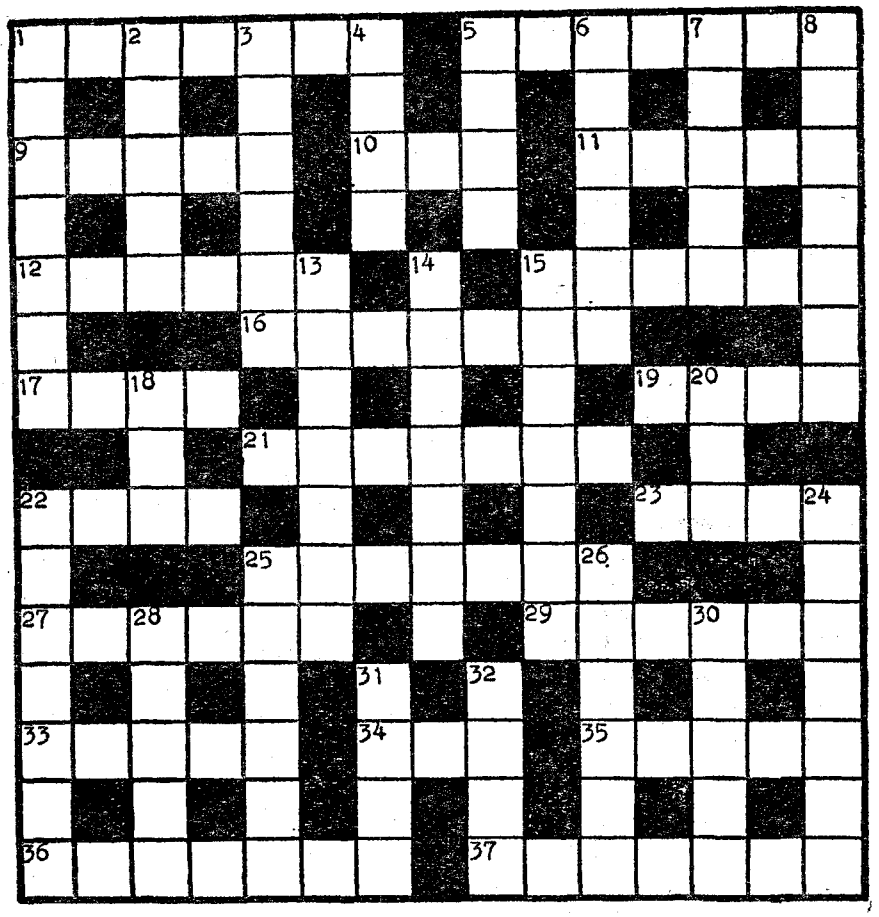
Crossword Puzzle No. 425

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 The consequences of being goods!
5 And such goods shouldn't get worn much. (7)
9 and 10. See 18 down.
11 See 31 down.
12 Rush helter-skelter to take your degree, perhaps. (6)
15 See 18 down.
16 A studio that is in a later mess. (7)
17 Fixes sinks and radios, perhaps. (4)
19 Cattle-drive? (4)
21 Mother's in the barn, all broken up!
22 The part of the coupon that isn't 15 down. (4)
23 Philosopher of the displaced zone.
25 Graves in France? (7)
27 These kind of dancing girls sound cut. (6)
29 Support, as 6 does. (4, 2)
33 An early one was Franklin's hale rich sage. (5)
34 and 5 down. Motto of the Prince of Wales (and Baron von Cramm?) (3, 4)
35 Quite logically, the possessive form of "it" and "her." (5)
36 Your next remedy is sure to include this. (7)
37 Off the record, they're bound to maintain silence. (7)

DOWN

1 Nobody here but us sheep! (The Temple of Artemis was!) (7)
2 Frail and bent, perhaps. (5)
3 The House of Spain, to a different degree than that of 12? (6)
4 Box belonging to the Coast Guard.
5 See 34 across.
6 See 29. (6)
7 Improper treatment for such shock could lead to getting burnt. (5)
8 The incurable proverbially must be.
13 See 28 down.
14 and 24. Does it suggest that he was intoxicated with Helen? (7, 2, 5)
15 Found under the bean. (7)
18, 9, 10, 15 across, 32 and 20. Sales talk for the more expensive electric shavers? (3, 5, 3, 6, 4, 3)
20 See 18 down.
22 Deprive of firmness. (7)
24 See 14.
25 Happen as a natural growth to sound like a hair-cut? (6)
26 How Tories come out? (6)
28 and 13. C. Thomas, and how he suffers! (5, 7)
30 Continue for a time. (5)
31 and 11 across. Was Astor's expedition? (4-5)
32 See 18 down.

• • • • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 424

ACROSS:—1 ATTRACTIVENESS; 8 TREE SURGEONS; 10 BRAZILIANS; 11 SNUG; 13 NAILED; 14 ASSAYERS; 16 HELICOID; 17 FLOATS; 19 BENT; 20 and 2 AS HONEST AS THE DAY IS LONG; 22 ABOVE AVERAGE; 23 FIRST SERGEANTS.

DOWN:—1 A STAB IN THE BACK; 3 ABSTINENCE; 4 TURGID; 5 VIENNESE; 6 NUNS; 7 THE GISH SISTERS; 9 UNDER A STRAIN; 12 PAUL REVERE; 15 MISSIVES; 18 HOT AIR; 21 IBIS.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York

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